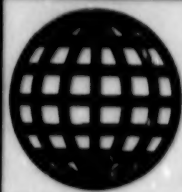


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9 December 1993



**FOREIGN
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JPRS Report

East Asia

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East Asia Southeast Asia

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Army Commander Views Attacks on Khmer Rouge

94SE0031A Bangkok DAILY NEWS in Thai
25 Oct 93 p 2

[Text] Cambodian government forces under the command of the newly elected government have confidently stated that they will attack and seize Khmer Rouge bases. The morale of the government troops is very good, and they are just waiting for the rainy season to end.

Last Saturday, Major General Keo Pisit, commander of the 4th Army Region of the Government of Cambodia, said that the government is very confident that it will be able to seize the important Khmer Rouge base located at Anlong Veng in the northern region of the country as soon as the rainy season ends.

Maj. Gen. Keo said that the reason why the government is so confident is that Cambodia now has a new government. Because of this, the morale of the troops is very high, and they will be able to fight and defeat the Khmer Rouge. Anlong Veng is the headquarters for all Khmer Rouge forces operating in the northern and central regions of the country.

Maj. Gen. Keo also said that government forces are preparing to send aircraft to drop leaflets over this area in an effort to induce members of the Khmer Rouge to accept the offer of amnesty. This will be done while the government forces wait for the end of the rainy season in November, when an offensive will be launched against the Khmer Rouge bases. He said that it is necessary to wait until the end of the rainy season, because the roads are now very muddy, making it very difficult to move troops and equipment. Besides this, the government and the Khmer Rouge may be able to reach an agreement before the end of the rainy season.

Maj. Gen. Keo said that he agrees with the assessment made by Prime Minister Hun Sen, who said that there is only a one-percent chance that next month's talks between the government and the Khmer Rouge will achieve results. He thinks that the only way to solve the problem is to use military force.

Maj. Gen. Keo admitted that even if government forces succeed in seizing the Khmer Rouge base at Anlong Veng, they will not be able to eliminate all Khmer Rouge forces in the north. Some of these forces will probably manage to escape to other bases. But this will destroy an important force. And if the government offers amnesty along with applying military pressure, in the end the Khmer Rouge will grow weaker and realize that they will not gain anything by continuing the struggle. He also indicated that the danger posed by the Khmer Rouge will come to an end around the end of 1994.

Fighting Between Khmer Rouge, Government Reported

94SE0031B Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai
16 Oct 93 pp 1, 16

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] As for the fighting between the Khmer Rouge and government forces, fighting is still going on in the Yea Ath area. Ten Cambodians, mostly children and elderly women, have been wounded or killed in this fighting. The fighting began at 1430 on 14 October. Colonel Po Vanna, the commander of the 42d Regiment talked with reporters at Ban Nimit. He told them that the Khmer Rouge are using routes on the Thai side of the border and that they are using ropes to climb up and attack his forces at various checkpoints. The fighting yesterday lasted two hours.

At approximately 1430 on 15 October, a reporter talked with a senior Khmer Rouge leader of the 450th Division, whose operations base is located near Ban Khlong Nam Sai to the south of Aranyaprathet District. They talked for only a short period of time, but this military officer told him a lot about the situation in Cambodia. He said that the situation has not improved at all. There is still fighting against coalition government forces. Mr. Hun Sen is the cause of the fighting. He is blocking the path to national unity and blocking the negotiations. He has blocked the travel of members of the government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Mr. Khieu Samphan. He has opposed various proposals and constantly called for attacking and eliminating the Khmer Rouge.

Former Prime Minister Comments on Corruption

94SE0034A Bangkok THE NATION in English
9 Oct 93 p a3

[Text] [Excerpts] [passage omitted] In Phnom Penh, former Phnom Penh prime minister Pen Sovann said Cambodian political parties are failing to live up to their campaign promises to wipe out rampant state corruption which is now threatening to undermine the future of the country.

"Cambodians are waiting to see if the leaders of the government will fulfill their promise to rid the country of corruption. People are losing their hope," Pen Sovann told yesterday's edition of the Cambodia Daily.

Political factions pledged to tackle the problem of corruption in the runup to the May UN-organized polls which led to the formation of a transitional government.

"During the three-month transitional period, corruption has not been wiped out; in fact it is on the increase," the 1979-81 Phnom Penh prime minister said.

The 24 September restoration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to the throne and the promulgation of the country's new constitution transformed the provisional government into a new fully-fledged government.

The change, however, had made matters worse, he said.

"Outgoing government officials, now that the country is on the verge of a new government, are rushing to rob the nation as much as possible before they leave office," he said.

"Many leaders are selling public property abroad or filching money and goods for their own private use."

In order to prove its sincerity in promising to tackle the blight which was "rotting the core of the country," the government should establish a committee to bring the "corrupt forces in the government, in the army, in the police and throughout the various ministries" to justice, he said.

"Many of our national treasures have now been lost forever, but the government must act aggressively to find that which is still hidden in the country and return it to its rightful owners, the people of Cambodia," he said.

Bank Governor Pani Yathotou Profiled

94SE0030A Bangkok MATICHON in Thai
24 Oct 93 p 5

[Excerpts] Pani Yathotou served as the governor of the central bank of Laos for five years, from 1988 through 1992. She was born in 1952 in Xiangkhoang Province in the northern region of Laos. She attended school in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, where she earned her BA degree in banking in 1976. She began her career with the central bank of Laos as an ordinary official and worked her way up to become a department head. She was appointed deputy governor in 1987 and then governor in 1988, replacing Mr. Noupnan Sinchai, who had died. She was the first female governor of this bank.

"I am proud of the fact that the Lao government treats men and women equally in the work place. In Laos, both women and men have equal rights in terms of educational and work opportunities."

Mrs. Pani said that even though she was the first female governor of this bank, in Laos there are many other units that are headed by women. This includes various ministries, such as the Ministry of Education, the Planning and Cooperation Committee, which is similar to Thailand's Development Council, and various organizations.

However, Governor Pani said that being governor during the period when she was first appointed was not easy, because that was a period in which the economy contracted 1.8 percent. That was because agricultural yields declined because of the drought. And inflation was a serious problem in 1992, the inflation rate increased from 14.8 percent to 75.9 percent. Thus, the central bank and the Ministry of Finance had to implement strict fiscal and monetary policies. Also, Laos changed policies and began using a free market mechanism. The next year, the weather improved and inflation declined, declining to about 10 percent in 1991 and to just 5.8 percent at the end of August 1993.

"During that period, things were very tense with respect to monetary management. We constantly had to think of what we could do to keep inflation and the economy from getting worse. Inflation could not be brought under control by just one unit. We had to coordinate things with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Commerce, and the major businessmen. Fortunately, everyone understood, and all the enterprises cooperated in solving the problems, with the result that inflation began to decline."

Even though her work is very demanding, former Governor Pani tries to find as much time as possible for her family. She is married to Mr. Khamphat Surinphumi, who helps take care of their 3-year-old child, Saengmani. Former Governor Pani was married in 1989. Her husband works in the Technical Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and is responsible for the irrigation projects carried out in cooperation with members of the European Community, providing assistance to Laos on irrigation matters.

However, her workload is quite heavy and so she has to spend most of her time working. Thus, she has very little time to spend with her family. She tries to reserve Sundays for her family. Sometimes she takes her child on trips or to ceremonies at the home of a friend. [passage omitted]

During her days off, besides spending as much time as possible with her family, she also tries to relax as much as possible and forget her work for the moment. Besides walking around outside and planting flowers, she likes to read newspapers, journals, and economic documents in order to increase her knowledge.

Although Pani is no longer governor of the central bank of Laos, she is still a member of the Board of Governors and cooperates with other central bank officials in carrying out various tasks. She also has to attend various administrative meetings. Her experience in helping solve Laos' economic problems will certainly enable her to work with the Lao central bank in solving the remaining problems so that the economy will continue to improve.

MILITARY

Air Force Chief of Staff Profiled*94SE0032A Bangkok NAE0 NA in Thai 14 Oct 93 p 21*

[Text] Air Marshal Kriangkrai Sinthawanon was born on 13 August 1937 in Bangkok. His wife died, leaving him with three young daughters to look after, Miss Samon Sinthawanon, Miss Nonthawan Sinthawanon, and Miss Wanwat Sinthawanon. He completed secondary school at Suan Kulap Withayalai School. After that, he entered the Air Force Academy as a member of Class 3. He attended the Air Force Command and General Staff College, Class 16, the Air Force War College, Class 16, and the National Defense College, Class 31.

Some of the important positions that he has held during his career in the air force include air force attache in London, England; deputy director of the Air Operations Control Department; director of the Operations Department; assistant air force chief of staff for operations; and deputy air force chief of staff. Now he has been promoted to air chief marshal and appointed air force chief of staff.

One of his great strengths is his human relations skills. His subordinates have confidence in him and trust him. His door is always open to his subordinates. In his free time, he likes to play golf. He also likes to jog early in the morning. He likes to listen to Thai songs that were popular more than a decade ago. He drinks occasionally at social gatherings. He is not interested in women and adheres to the principles of honesty and fairness.

Comments by Army Commander Reported*94SE0032B Bangkok DAO SIAM in Thai 9 Oct 93 pp 1, 8*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] General Wimon Wongwanit, army commander in chief, talked with reporters on 8 October 1993 at the Army Transportation Department. He was asked what effect Thailand's becoming a member of a non-aligned group will have on the military. He said the government's policy is that soldiers are to act accordingly, as regular government officials. Thus, he can't comment on that. Reporters like to ask about the policies of the government, but he can't answer such questions. When asked if this announcement by Thailand will result in the United States cutting its aid to us, Gen. Wimon said that we are standing on our own feet, for the most part. The United States does not provide much help. He also said that he doesn't think this will affect the joint Thai-American military exercises, because those exercises are joint operations. If something does happen, this will benefit both Thailand and the other country.

The reporter asked if we are ready to stand on our own feet if the United States cuts its aid. The Army Commander in Chief said that other countries are providing help only with respect to training, which benefits both countries. For example, we send officers to study abroad to learn about modern technology. But at the same time, that country benefits in terms of better relations, because this helps build friendly relations.

As for the present situation in Cambodia, Gen. Wimon said that we have to consider things very carefully, because there are still many countries that do not understand us. In particular, our mass media has published stories that express views contrary to our policies. The fact is, we support peaceful reconciliation. We do not support a particular faction. If a faction encroaches on Thai territory, we will disarm them and try to expel them. The reason for the misunderstanding is that no real attempt has been made to foster understanding. Even UNTAC, which we have helped, does not understand us on certain issues.

Gen. Wimon said that the place we must keep an eye on today is the An Ma Pass. That is a dangerous area that certain forces might use as a base, which would result in others condemning us. Thus, he said that he has ordered forces to be prepared to expel any foreign forces and not allow any faction to use us. In particular, we must not allow any faction to draw us to its side. However, he has not ordered any reinforcements sent to that area.

ECONOMIC

Report on Rural Development Efforts, Budget*94SE0023A Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN in Thai 3-9 Oct 93 pp 21,22*

[Article by Dr. Kowit Phuangngam: "The Thai Countryside Now: the Time Has Come for the Government To Improve Its Development Strategy"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In the overall picture of our country the countryside is the home of most of the population. About 65 to 70 percent live in the countryside and the countryside makes up about the same percentage of the area of the country. That is why it is said that if the countryside cannot progress, Thai society and the country cannot progress either. [passage omitted]

The budget each year which is poured into various forms of development for the countryside is enormous. For example the government's 1993 budget for development of the countryside, for which the budget year ends on 30 September 1993, poured 54,378 billion baht into developing the countryside. [passage omitted]

I feel that the budget which the government pours into developing the countryside each year is large enough.

But that does not answer the question of why the Thai countryside still has the old problems and is getting many new problems. Many thinkers and experts say that if one took this budget and allocated it to each village equally, the 60 billion baht development budget would provide each of the 58,057 villages (in 1992) with more than 1 million baht. One can see that if this money could be given to the villages for development, it would be very good for them because the development budget allocated each year must pass through various ministries, bureaus and departments. There is generally leakage or corruption along the way—I do not know how much. What is left reaches the villagers and the villages. I do not know how much is left per village.

In any case the situation in the countryside is that there are always problems—both old problems which collect and are not being solved and new problems which appear regularly. These problems have piled up a great deal.

I feel that the strategies and tactics which are presently used must be evaluated to see where the weaknesses or flaws are. The time has come again when we should improve the development strategies and tactics. When we evaluate the results of countryside development at the village level done according to development plan 5 and 6 with consideration given to analysis of data from the village level provided by the Community Development Department and the development council, we find that there are still villages in the Thai countryside which need urgent development. There are 11,608 backward villages out of the 58,057 villages (in 1992) throughout the country.

If we consider this in the light of the analysis done by the development council which summarized the situation in the Thai countryside and focused on the problems which the people in the countryside encountered but which had not been solved during the period when the new development tactics were being employed, we find there are the following problems:

1. There is the problem of the large increase in the number of households, farmers and laborers. In addition data supplied by the Thai Development Research Institute (TDRI) indicates that about 2.5 million households or 12 million people have a problem finding enough land for farming. These can be divided into those invading the national forest reserves, those renting land, and subsistence farmers. This is a serious problem in the north and northeast.

2. There is the problem of the lack of water for agriculture. This results in farmers not being able to raise crops to supplement their income in the dry season. And in setting our priorities when planning for long-term water use, we neglected conservation.

3. There is the problem of the deterioration of our natural resources due to wasteful exploitation as well as to the past destruction of forests and watersheds.

4. There is the problem of production and income. Agricultural production is falling as a result of the deterioration of the environment and cultivating the wrong crops. In addition the government has not been as interested as it should in farmers and in guaranteeing agricultural prices.

5. There is the problem of communications. The surfaces of the roads to some villages are not such that can be used year round or regularly.

These five problems gave rise to the development done under development plan 5 and 6, but it was not able to solve the problems although some of the development did solve problems to a certain extent. In any case the countryside is encountering new problems which are mounting up, such as the problem of AIDS which is spreading to the people in the countryside more and more and the problem of city dwellers and investors buying large amounts of land. It seems that the people in the countryside want to sell land in the irrigated areas of the central region and the North. Land transfers reached 700,000 rai [a rai equals .4 of an acre] in 1988. In addition, the countryside has been affected by the expansion of towns into the countryside and the use of the land for industry.

In addition some of the problems mentioned at the beginning are still encountered. A survey done by the National Statistics Office in 1991 indicated that of the 5.2 million agricultural families spread throughout the country there were 1 million who still did not have land and needed to rent land.

What is especially interesting is that while our country is an agricultural country and we have 150 million rai of farmland out of a total land area of 320.7 million rai, there are 10,345 villages in 42 provinces with dry land and lacking water, and not good for cultivation. Only 20.6 million rai of the farmland is allocated irrigation water by the Irrigation Department. [passage omitted]

Energy Development Options Reviewed

94SE0033A Bangkok SIAM RAT SAPDA WICHAN
in Thai 24-30 Oct 93 pp 24, 25

[Article by Phantakan Suwan]

[Text] Several of the government's dam construction projects are being strongly opposed by people who support the growing environmental conservation movement. But a study conducted by the Office of the National Energy Policy Board [NEPB] and the World Bank on choices of fuel to produce electricity during the next ten years in preparation for submitting a proposal to the government supports reviewing the dam construction projects, saying that Thailand still has the potential to build dams.

Studies have shown that electricity use has now reached 9,700 megawatts a year. This is expected to increase by more than 1,000 megawatts a year. As for

the fuels used to produce electricity, 40 percent is produced from natural gas, 25 percent from lignite, 20 percent from water, and 15 percent from other fuels. The choice stipulated for producing electricity from these energy sources is an important choice.

Dr. Piyasawat Amranan, secretary general of the NEPB, has proposed that the government review the dam construction projects that were once planned but then put aside. He has also said that the studies on the dam construction projects stipulated in the plans on finding long-term energy sources should be completed as soon as possible, because Thailand still has great potential for producing electricity from water power.

Besides this, we must quickly hold talks with neighboring countries such as Laos, Burma, and China in order to invest in producing electrical power together. Or if the Electricity Generating Authority of Thailand [EGAT] does not have a policy of investing in this itself, we must quickly find ways to purchase electricity from neighboring countries. We might sign long-term contracts to purchase electricity in order to support greater investment in this.

While the NEPB, which is the primary unit in stipulating energy policy, clearly supports generating electricity using water power, EGAT, which is directly concerned, has included a plan to build dams to generate electricity in its long-term energy procurement plan.

Thawisak Mahasanthana, the director of the hydro-power engineering section, EGAT, said that the cost of producing hydroelectricity is very low. However, much land is lost in storing the water. But we must continue to promote hydroelectric power in the future regardless of how strong the opposition to this becomes.

EGAT's 1993-2003 electricity production development plan includes five hydroelectric projects on which work has now gotten underway. These have a generating capacity of 656 megawatts. These include: the project to upgrade units 1 and 2 at the Phumiphon dam in Tak Province, where production capacity will be increased to 140 megawatts; the Pak Mun project, units 1-4, in Ubon Ratchathai Province, with a production capacity of 136 megawatts; the Sirikit project, unit 4, in Uttaradit Province, where production capacity will be increased to 125 megawatts; the Phumiphon project, unit 8, in Tak Province, with a production capacity of 175 megawatts; and the Kaeng Krung project, units 1-2, in Surat Thani Province, with a production capacity of 80 megawatts.

The cabinet approved the Kaeng Krung project on 27 March 1990. But it has not yet been constructed. This is because the cabinet resolution issued on 31 July 1990 called for additional studies on tide-end irrigation and on environmental effects.

Feasibility studies have been completed for three projects: the recycling-type Lam Takhong project, the

Mae Lama Luang project, and the Mae Taeng project. These have a combined production capacity of 1,486 megawatts.

There are five projects that are now being studied in order to increase production capacity. These would have a combined capacity of 2,760 megawatts. Three of these projects are recycling-type projects. These are: the Khirithan dam project in Chanthaburi Province, the Chulaphon dam project in Chaiyaphum Province, and the Pranburi dam project in Prachuap Khiri Khan Province. Feasibility studies are now being conducted for all three of these projects. The other two are to increase the production capacity of generator 3 at the Tha Thung Na dam in Kanchanaburi Province and the Daeng Sua Ten dam construction project in Phrae Province. All feasibility studies are being conducted by the Irrigation Department.

Besides the domestic hydroelectric power production projects, there are also power development projects between Thailand and neighboring countries such as Laos, Burma, and China.

As for joint Thai-Lao electricity generating projects, EGAT is now purchasing electricity from two projects in Laos, that is the Nam Ngoem 1 project with a generating capacity of 150 megawatts and the Saset project with a generating capacity of 45 megawatts.

The operations plan calls for the EGAT to purchase electricity from Laos and to coordinate the electricity projects in Laos with EGAT's power development plans. Laos has set a target of increasing hydroelectric power generation to approximately 150 megawatts by the year 2000. The seven projects involved are: the Nam Thoen 1 and Nam Thoen 2 projects, the Nam Ngoem 2 project, the Nam Tha project, the Huai Ho project, the Nam Hai project, and the Nam Nghiep project. At a joint meeting with the Lao Energy and Electricity Commission, it was concluded that the projects with the greatest feasibility were the Nam Thoen 1 and 2 projects and the Huai Ho project.

As for hydroelectric projects between Thailand and Burma, there are eight projects with a total generating capacity of 6,397.5 megawatts that are now being studied. These are the Nam Mae Sai project; the Khlong Kra project; the upper Salween project in the area of Mae Sariang District and Sop Moei Branch District, Mae Hong Son Province; the Nam Moei 1, Nam Moei 2, and Nam Moei 3 projects; and the Mae Kok project. Besides this, Burma is also interested in having Thailand participate in developing the Salween river basin hydroelectric project in Burma.

EGAT may sign a long-term contract to purchase electricity from China. China has eight Mekong River hydroelectric development projects with a total capacity of 15,000 megawatts. Two of these projects, which have a capacity of 2,000 megawatts, are located

near the Burmese border. This would make it easy to purchase electricity from China at a time when China lacks investment capital.

Even though EGAT does not plan to invest in other countries, purchasing electricity from other countries is an important choice.

Assistant Professor Suraphon Sudara of the Oceanography Department, Faculty of Science, Chulalongkorn University, said that before a hydroelectric project is proposed, it should be remembered that there may not be enough water to generate electricity. This is clear from the drought situation at the Phumiphon and Sirikit dams.

The important question to consider is: What is the main purpose of building a dam? If a dam is built for irrigation purposes, that is fine. But if it is built in order to generate electricity, the government should view that as the last choice. This is because building a dam can lead to serious conflicts if things are not coordinated with the opposing factions.

As for joint electricity generating projects with neighboring countries, there may be long-term problems. The project to generate electricity from the Mekong River, for example, will affect countries at the lower reaches of the river such as Vietnam. While Thailand will receive only 300 megawatts of electricity, this could lead to international conflicts.

"There are many other choices that have not yet been developed. This includes power plants using industrial waste disposal plants and power plants using garbage. Other countries have greatly developed these sources of energy and pushed a policy of reducing the amount of electricity now consumed. They have also supported studies on solar and wind energy and sources of energy at sea," said Assistant Professor Suraphon.

As for other possible choices besides building dams, the study on "choices of fuels to produce electricity" concluded that building power plants that use liquid natural gas, or LNG, as a fuel is highly feasible. The problems include agreeing on prices and signing seven to eight year contracts with foreign producers. We must carefully consider production costs and sources of energy.

Concerning this, Prathin Phattanaphon, the deputy governor of the Petroleum Authority of Thailand [PAT], said that the Petroleum Authority of Thailand has conducted studies and concluded that the cost of producing electricity from LNG is lower than that of producing electricity using nuclear energy or coal. An operating period of eight years has been stipulated. The studies have now been completed, and the matter has been submitted to the head of the PAT. The matter will soon be submitted to the NEPB for careful consideration. It is thought that it will take at least four to five years to draw up the designs and formulate construction plans. The plant would not be ready to go into

production until at least the year 2000. The most likely sites for the plant are Ao Phai and Krabi.

The plan by the Petroleum Authority of Thailand to produce electricity using LNG is in accord with EGAT's electricity generating plan. The cabinet has instructed PAT to study the feasibility of importing LNG from Burma, Malaysia, and Vietnam as a substitute for producing electricity using coal and nuclear energy from the year 2000 on.

A power plant that uses LNG as a fuel will have to be a large plant with a production capacity of 4,000 megawatts. Such a plant will consume at least 5 million tons of LNG. Investment costs will be approximately \$4 billion. Studies have shown that it costs less to build an LNG power plant than a coal power plant. That is, it costs about \$6 billion to build a coal power plant, and it costs about \$8 billion to build a nuclear power plant.

As for possible sites for the construction of an LNG power plant, PAT and EGAT have surveyed four possible sites: Ao Phai, Maptaphut, Krabi, and Bang Saphan. The most likely sites are Krabi, because the existing gas pipeline system can be extended, and Ao Phai. It would be relatively easy to bring LNG to those sites.

"The problem with using LNG is that the amount of raw materials may be limited. We would have to sign long-term purchase contracts. And we would have to reclaim sea areas and build a deep-water port in order to facilitate the transport of LNG. The important thing is that we would have to receive real support from the government. The Petroleum Authority of Thailand is ready to begin as soon as the government authorizes this."

Today, it is essential to use coal in generating electricity even though power plants that use coal as fuel generate much pollution. This is because, to date, strict control plans have not been formulated. However, in the future, Thailand will definitely have to import more high-grade coal in order to generate electricity.

Today, we need 12 million tons of lignite a year to generate electricity. This will increase to 30 million tons at a time when our reserves total only 1 billion tons. The lignite from domestic deposits is low-grade lignite. This will have to be used in generating electricity. EGAT has formulated plans and made preparations to reduce the amount of sulfur dioxide released in using lignite.

Studies conducted by the NEPB show that the cost of generating electricity using high-grade coal is about the same as that of generating electricity using coal that requires installing equipment to reduce the amount of sulfur dioxide, which increases costs about 20 percent.

Dr. Khian Wongsuri, the director of the Heat Energy Engineering Department, EGAT, said that in the future,

more imported coal will be used in generating electricity. The Eighth National Economic and Social Development Plan estimates that electricity generation from coal will increase to 55 percent. Important sources of coal include Australia and New Zealand. Thailand can reach long-term agreements on 75 percent of total coal imports.

Besides this, purchasing electricity from outside the system is another choice that will become more and more important. In the past, the NEPB has had a policy of purchasing electricity from small private producers. An effort has been made to change the criteria in order to induce people in the private sector to produce electricity and sell it to EGAT, particularly through price inducements.

Dr. Sawit Phothiwiwok, the minister attached to the Office of the Prime Minister, discussed the results of the NEPB meeting held on 14 October. He said that those at the meeting discussed changing the criteria for purchasing electricity from small producers. On 12 October, the cabinet passed a resolution on changing the criteria. People in the private sector will now be able to sell up to 60 megawatts of electricity to EGAT instead of 50 megawatts. Those at the meeting discussed changing the criteria, and EGAT will consider purchasing electricity from those in the private sector who want to sell electricity and who have a generating capacity exceeding 60 megawatts. But these producers must not have any problems with respect to their carrier system or turbines. The issue of prices will have to be considered in greater detail.

Besides this, preparations are being made to issue criteria for purchasing electricity from those in the private sector who want to sell electricity to EGAT directly. In the past, purchases were made only through the cogeneration system. This matter will have to be considered very carefully, because investments in producing electricity are very high, and this could have long-term effects.

There is strong opposition to building a nuclear power plant. The NEPB study has recommended postponing this project, because the costs of this plant could reach \$2,000 per kilowatt. And what is important is that Thailand is not yet ready to build a nuclear power plant. However, personnel must be prepared, and feasibility studies must be made because ten years from now, the plans may have to be changed.

Dr. Chiraphon Sinthunawa, an instructor in the Faculty of Environmental and Resources Studies, Mahidol University, said that safety standards for nuclear power plants are still low. Several accidents have occurred, and the effects have been very serious.

People are afraid of the serious dangers posed by an accident at a nuclear power plant. There are both technical objections and fears of mistakes in controlling plant operations. Also, little progress has been made in developing ways to eliminate radioactive nuclear waste.

There are many more ideas on how to provide sufficient energy for Thailand, but many of these ideas have failed to win public acceptance. The units concerned will have to conduct feasibility studies for each of the projects, because it may become necessary to revise the plans. What is very important are the effects on the environment. And the projects must be accepted by the people. In particular, there will definitely be broad opposition to the construction of dams to produce electricity.

Columnist Sees No Drop in Tape Piracy

94SE0033B Bangkok *SIAM RAT* in Thai
11 Oct 93 p 13

[Column by Sawanwithi]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The Intellectuals Property Department, Ministry of Commerce, has issued an order requiring companies that make musical tapes to attach a sticker giving the address of the company and many other details. It says that the purpose of this is to check the number released to various shops. Once this has been done, it will know how many tapes have been released each day and each week, which will help check the taxes being paid to the government and help prevent people from copying the tapes of those companies. That is what they claim anyway.

But is the Intellectual Property Division, which has issued so many orders, aware of the fact that people are still engaged in such activities? They continue to make bogus tapes just as before. The number of bogus tapes on the market has not declined at all. And in the provinces, copying and selling bogus tapes is still a booming business. Those involved in this are busy affixing the stamps and other things now required by the government without guilt about forging government documents.

What officials have said makes it seem as if they are siding with businessmen. But for those businessmen who are trying to earn a living honestly, to pay their taxes, and to obey the various orders issued by the Intellectual Property Division, this has caused slow-downs. These businessmen haven't complained and still view officials as people who must be obeyed. Even if something causes problems for them, they don't complain.

I think that businessmen are again encountering problems. Even though the problems are the same as those in the past, officials are saying that these orders will help solve the problems. But a short time later, the problems are still there. They haven't even gone away for even a moment as officials said they would.

Officials have said that they will be the eyes and ears for the owners of tape businesses. For example, they will check the number of tapes released and then check the shops to see if the shops are obeying the law and if the tapes on sale there have the required stickers and so

on. But for some reason, officials seem incapable of spotting bogus tapes. Or perhaps it's because the forgers are experts in copying tapes. And out of carelessness, someone may even make the genuine article look like a fake. [passage omitted]

POLITICAL

Article Discusses Sovereign Rights at Sea

942E0008A Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN
DAN in Vietnamese Aug 93 pp 54-57

[Article by Vice Admiral Hoang Hua Thai, commander of the Navy: "The Navy's Experience in Firmly Defending the Fatherland's Sovereignty at Sea With Aggregate Strength"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Eastern Sea and its islands are the place in which complicated and fierce disputes over sovereignty between nations are taking place, a fact that has resulted in a tendency among various countries in the region to strengthen their military forces, in particular their navies. Several countries, especially those with great military and economic potential, are taking full advantage of their superiority at sea to encroach upon and threaten the sovereignty of Vietnam and other Eastern Sea littoral countries over the sea areas, continental shelf, and offshore islands in a bid to secure marine resources and dominate maritime activities in the region.

In our sea areas, foreign vessels are carrying out illegal activities daily, poaching marine products, brazenly exploring for and exploiting marine resources, enticing people to flee the country, engaging in espionage and smuggling, robbing ships and boats, and even grossly violating our fatherland's sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The geographical location and characteristics of our country's sea areas and the region's complex background require that we strongly promote the development of marine economy and strengthen our capability to safeguard our national sovereignty and interests and to protect our marine resources and the marine ecological environment. This is a matter of life and death for our country in building socialism and defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

At present, our army and people's task of defending the socialist fatherland has requirements and elements that are different from those in the past: Defending independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity must now be closely linked with protecting the party, the socialist regime, and national political security. Opposing peaceful evolution, rebellion, and subversion has become the foremost urgent task and must be combined with our active efforts in dealing with other eventualities. Moreover, we no longer benefit from international military aid as we did in the past and our national defense budget remains limited. For this reason, the task of defending the fatherland's sea areas has also undergone new developments and imposed new requirements.

Now more than ever before, we should create a new strength, an aggregate strength of the entire country, the entire party, the entire people, and the entire army in all

fields—political, economic, national defense, security, diplomatic...—and achieve the unity of objectives and plans of action on the basis of our party and state's strategy for marine building, development, and defense. This aggregate strength is aimed at meeting the new requirements regarding the defense and development of the national sea areas: maintaining stability, peace, cooperation, and friendship in the Eastern Sea; struggling to firmly preserve our national interests and sovereignty in the sea areas in strict accordance with the SRV state law and international law of the sea.

In reality, this aggregate strength lies in a close and constant combination of marine economic building and development and the defense of the fatherland's sovereignty, security, order, safety, and territorial integrity at sea. The plans for—as well as the actual activities in—marine building, exploitation, and development of the various sectors, ministries, and localities should include the element of marine management and the defense of the sea areas under the charge of specific sectors and localities. At present, the political organizations, economic and diplomatic sectors, and localities, especially the coastal localities, share a common responsibility for consolidating and strengthening the all-people national defense and people's security system at sea. First of all, they should concentrate on making studies in response to the pressing demands posed by national defense at sea.

First, they must develop a strong marine defense and security disposition and create a combat disposition linking the coast with the sea and offshore islands in accordance with the plan for building coastal provincial and district defense zones.

As we have already known, our sea areas are dotted with more than 3,000 islands of all sizes—our country ranks third among the states with the most islands in Southeast Asia. Vietnam's islands and archipelagos form separate lines both close to and far from the coast. The coastal region includes 26 provinces and cities in which half of the country's population is concentrated. The force of various sectors directly making a living at sea alone number nearly 240,000 people, who operate 80,000 ships and boats (with a total output of about 5 million horsepower). Our country's island system continues with the mainland to form a multileveled, multilayered line of in-depth defense. A rational disposition combining land and sea forces would create favorable conditions for us to defend, protect, and control, and exercise mastery over, the sea areas.

In recent years the coastal provinces and districts, together with other localities throughout the country, have made every effort to build strong defense zones. Sea and island defense projects and plans have been implemented step by step, tested in various phases of maneuvers, and increasingly amended and improved. We are focusing on studying a host of problems to find effective and suitable solutions to the new situation

and new requirements of the task of defending and managing the sea areas at present.

First of all, there should be coordination and unity in formulating concrete plans for strengthening the defense potential and for mobilizing forces and the material and technical assets of various echelons, sectors, and localities throughout the country, especially the coastal localities and the forces currently engaged in marine economic work and scientific research at sea and along the coast.

In building the militia and self-defense forces, we should attach importance to the demand for both quantity and quality, especially political quality. It is necessary to continue studying the organization of marine militia and self-defense forces in various economic sectors; however, we still must consider the marine militia and self-defense forces of the state and collective economic sectors to be the nucleus. The activities of the marine militia and self-defense forces must always be closely linked with the tasks of managing the sea areas and protecting production and the lives and property of the people and state at sea. At the same time, the marine militia and self-defense forces have a responsibility to coordinate with the Navy and other armed forces currently operating at sea to perform national defense duties (in peacetime) and to fight should armed conflicts or hostilities break out.

To assert and defend our national sovereignty at sea, it is required that the permanent presence of SRV citizens in the fatherland's sea areas—in their capacity as the owners of natural resources there—should be increased. It is also required that we should further promote the political stability, economic development, and defense and security strength of the islands and island districts.

In recent years the state has applied the policy of resettling the people on various islands and archipelagoes to develop production and sending fishing and cargo vessels of the central and local echelons and of the people in the coastal provinces to the fishing grounds in Truong Sa [Spratly Islands] and in the southwestern continental shelf and sea area. This presence has contributed to firmly maintaining security at sea and has at the same time served as a form of asserting and exercising our sovereignty; if need be, it can also aid the armed forces in safeguarding our sovereignty at sea. This is the force to be used in organizing powerful marine militia and self-defense units, thereby contributing to further strengthening national defense. This force can also serve as the Navy's reserves in case of hostilities. We suggest that the state, the various ministries, departments, and sectors of the central echelon, and the localities make studies to formulate a number of policies aimed at creating favorable conditions for—and mobilizing—the people to resettle on the offshore islands and archipelagoes of the fatherland.

Second, we must develop the Vietnam People's Navy to make it strong enough to fulfill its principal role in managing and defending the sea areas.

To be strong enough to serve as the nucleus of the all-people national defense system and the people's war at sea and to join other forces in managing the marine resources in peacetime and safeguarding our sovereignty at sea in any situation, *the Vietnam People's Navy must be built into a revolutionary, regular, well-trained, and gradually modernized armed service with a rational structure, organization, and troop strength. This service must take steps that are in conformity with the capacity and development of the national economy, the industry, and the defense budget.* To achieve this aim, there should be state investment and the aid of various economic sectors, especially the marine economic sector, to secure equipment and build the material and technical base of the Navy.

The People's Navy must strive to acquire all the necessary forces, whose balance and homogeneity must be ensured. We must determine which is to be the Navy's main force on the basis of fulfilling the task of defending our sovereignty, first of all in the important directions, sea areas, and offshore islands.

We must build up the People's Navy with a sufficient regular troop strength and with an increasingly higher quality. This involves a process of learning from our forefathers' tradition of fighting against aggressors on the riverine and marine battlefields. It also involves studying and applying Ho Chi Minh's military thought and our party's military thought and art of modern people's war at sea; and creatively applying the experience of various countries of the world in building and developing their navies, especially the countries in the region. This is aimed at studying and perfecting a model of naval force organization. Specifically, we must examine and deploy force and equipment organizations and structures in such a way as to suit them to each sea area. We must also study and determine—and draw conclusions on—the directions of the Navy's operations and combat activities in various sea areas, especially in the important, strategic sea areas and archipelagoes. We must study the coordination of action between the Navy and various coastal provinces and military regions; between the Navy and the other armed forces; and between the Navy and the people's public security and border guard forces and especially the Air Force in order to effectively defend the sea areas.

We must enhance the capability of the naval troops in all regards as well as their combat readiness and regular status so that they can deal with any situation at sea in an accurate and timely manner. To do so, we must improve the quality of education and training of troops in strict accordance with the guidelines "fundamental, practical, and steady." In addition to the routine political and military training, we must provide the naval troops with the essential knowledge of the law of

the sea and of our state's legal documents regarding the sea. We must educate the troops so that they can satisfactorily implement the directives of the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of National Defense on developing the order and discipline of a regular force, thereby promoting uniformity in implementing the regulations of troop management on each ship and each unit and in the entire service.

We must attach importance to raising the political, ideological, and organization quality of the Navy, and to developing it into a politically well-trained service so as to use this development as a basic element in enhancing its overall quality. We must combine the building of pure and strong basic party organizations and the building of all-sidedly strong units.

We must actively apply several measures to maintain and prolong the service life of the equipment and vessels currently available. At the same time, we must carry out research on, and production and procurement of new and appropriate means. We must bring into full play the effectiveness of equipment in combat, training, building, labor, production, and marine economic work. We must make effective use of the budget and materials supplied by the state, gradually build up installations to ensure the provision of technical equipment, and overcome the current imbalance step by step.

We must uphold the spirit of self-reliance and actively participate in the exploitation of marine resources and in marine transportation, fishing, oil and gas services, industrial production, and ship repair, thereby contributing to national economic development and to building the Navy.

Bringing into play its tradition of "fighting courageously, resourcefully, and creatively; exercising mastery over the sea areas; and displaying a determination to fight and to win" developed during the past 38 years, the naval troops are making every effort to satisfactorily fulfill their principal role in managing and defending the sea areas of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

MILITARY

Article Discusses Building Defense Areas

942E0007 Hanoi TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN in Vietnamese Aug 93 pp 10-13

[Summarized speech by Senior Lieutenant General Dao Dinh Luyen: "Some Issues Related to Building Defense Areas in the New Situation"]

[Text] *Editor's note: Following is a summarized text of a speech made by Senior Lieutenant General Dao Dinh Luyen at a conference to review five years of building defense areas (DA) and two years of building totally*

strong villages/wards, held in Military Region 5. The top portion of this article was written by the editors of TAP CHI QUOC PHONG TOAN DAN.

The traditions of our nation call for "national construction going hand in hand with national defense," building having to take place along with defending and maintaining the nation's peace and security. Whenever the fatherland is invaded, we achieve "the whole country fights the enemy, all the people fight the enemy," with the fighting method calling for using a few to resist many, using small power to score big victories, and using the protracted war to defeat the quickly-decided one; develop the strength of each and every locality and region throughout the country; and actively launch widespread offensives to force the enemy to become bogged down.

From time immemorial our ancestors had adopted the "village/country war stance." In the war of resistance against the French colonialists, we had "combat villages" and "resistance bases." In the period of resistance against America for national salvation, we had "district fortresses" like Cu Chi and Vinh Linh. In this Military Region 5 we had many well-known bases like Hon Han, Da Ban, Dong Gang, Lang Nhot, Dat Set, Khanh Son, and so on, the military exploit of which has been recorded in history.

Today, with the country being totally reunified and going toward socialism and with 53 provinces and municipalities comprising 600 districts and cities, we are carrying out the plans for building solid DA's and turning more than 10,000 villages and wards into totally strong "points of support" or villages and wards. These are the building blocks of the all-people national defense and people's security that ensure the country's security and consolidate the peace, and the important links that transform the peacetime defense and security potential into the people's war strength needed to protect the fatherland. When war breaks out, our DA's will become staunch fortresses that fight and destroy the enemy everywhere and force the enemy to divide and spread their forces to cope with ours, which results in their strength being reduced to being numerically little and in their failure to develop the full capabilities and usefulness of their modern weapons and technical equipment and to achieve their "fight quickly and end the war quickly" scheme. With the combined strength of our solid DA's and strong main-force mobile corps in a well-prepared people's war stance, we will make the enemy fall into a passive and bogged-down posture and into the fate of inevitably losing the war like that of the previous aggressive armies.

In this sense, to build provinces and municipalities into solid DA's is a strategic policy of the party and state in the building and defense of the fatherland.

In the last five years, along with other localities throughout the country, Military Region 5 was proceeding well with building solid DA's and, in the last two years, obtained encouraging results from building strong installations: Since the military region thoroughly understood and seriously implemented the resolutions of the party and the directives of the government and Ministry of National Defense, its party committee echelons, administrations, and military organs at all levels, from the provincial level down to the basic village and ward level, showed a higher degree of unanimity in regard to their conception and view on the task of building and consolidating the all-people national defense and people's security, and adopted many effective measures to facilitate the fulfillment of this task within the military region. The army and people of Military Region 5 maintained political stability and social order and security in their locality. The provinces in the military region paid attention to drafting defense plans and projects in accordance with the needs of the new task and situation. They planned for or actually carried out many national defense and national defense-economic projects in their localities, particularly in vital locations like border and coastal areas and islands. They actively organized and made plans for population clusters and infrastructural economic-technical bases along the line of closely combining the economy with national defense and security. Military Region 5 was one of the military regions that organized very effective and realistic military exercises.

However, after all these years of implementation, "The building of provinces and municipalities into solid DA's, generally speaking, has not yet achieved the desired results, and many limits have remained in comparison with the new situation and needs. In some localities, the administrations, basic-level mass organizations, militia, self-defense, reserve forces have become weaker and have not been consolidated quickly enough. More particularly, in the coordination of work among the related sectors there have been a lack of synchronization and an absence of clear-cut rules. The ministries and sectors at the central level have not yet had plans to guide the lower levels in the localities and basic installations toward fulfilling the task that is clearly determined in the directive of the Council of Ministers so as to create a coordinated, synchronized, and realistic action." This shortcoming did not take place only in Military Region 5 but also in the entire country.

In order to exploit the results that have been obtained, to overcome early the weaknesses that have remained, and to build DA's to satisfy and fulfill the new needs and task, I propose that the provinces, districts, and basic-level units concentrate their efforts on studying and properly resolving the following issues:

I. To continue to thoroughly understand and effectively implement all party and state directives and resolutions on national defense-security in the new situation, and to build solid DA's throughout the country.

In the wake of Resolution 02 of the Political Bureau on national defense-security and Directive 56/TC (March 1989) of the chairman of the Council of Ministers (now the prime minister), a 7th Party Congress document has affirmed the following: "To accelerate the building of provincial and municipal DA's within the all-people national defense stance, to build up the capabilities to prevent and thwart all counterrevolutionary plots and acts in the localities, and to actively fight to protect the latter under any circumstances." And later Resolution 3 of the Central Committee Political Bureau (fourth term) (June 1992), Directive 245/CT (July 1992) of the chairman of the Council of Ministers (now the prime minister), Directive 1171 of the National Defense Ministry, and the interministerial directive of the Ministries of National Defense and Interior, based on the 7th Party Congress Documents, on the national defense-security task have all emphasized the role of DA's and at the same time pointed to the needs of their new task today. Therefore, to thoroughly understand the party and state policies on organizing and achieving the task of building provinces and municipalities and districts and wards into solid DA's in conformity with the policies, goals, needs, and contents that have been set always constitutes one of the top important tasks for party committee echelons, administrations, and military organs from central to basic levels to fulfill.

Now I want to underline a number of basic issues in these documents so that you could study and implement them as follows:

The basic task today is to build the localities in order to make them politically solid, economically and socially developed, and strong in terms of national defense and security; to accumulate the potential capabilities in all aspects on the part of the localities; and to be ready to provide general aid, thus defeating all enemy plots to provoke peaceful events and to overthrow by force and riots, maintaining political stability, and being ready to successfully deal with any situations.

The needs: Every DA must have the regular ability to be independent, self-supporting, and self-reliant; to build the combined strength of all people; to strongly defend its own locality on a long-term basis and within the nation's overall combat stance; to actively fight the enemy from the very beginning by attacking decisively, clinging to defense positions, destroying many enemy troops, forcing them to be bogged down, and coping with the situation in a passive manner; and to create good opportunities and a close coordination with the main-force corps in destroying the enemy.

All solid DA's must satisfy the following *basic criteria*:

I. A developed combined potential, which means that political security must be strong; the economy, science-technology, culture, and society must be developed; national defense must be strong; the budget must be

balanced with contributions being made to the superior levels; and all social and rear-area policies toward the armed forces must be properly implemented.

2. A strong on-the-spot combined force capable of defending the locality by itself. First we must consolidate the party organizations, administrations, and mass organizations to make them truly clean, strong, and capable of leading and supervising the tasks of developing better economic, sociocultural, and national defense-security conditions in the locality; at the same time, attach great importance to consolidating and building the national defense-security forces to make them capable of fulfilling the assigned tasks; and organize and mobilize the mass forces for active participation in the movements to maintain political security, social order, and security for the sake of protecting the locality and defending the fatherland.

3. Building of an all-people national defense stance and people's security stance in each and every locality. On the basis of the actual situation in each position and locality, we must confirm defense plans and the plans calling for building battle positions and bases, and make preparations for keeping the material, technical, and rear-area bases ready to serve as a reserve support for the war and to make sure that when the war breaks out, we will be able to fight independently and for a long time; at the same time, we must actively build basic battle positions, key locations, and vital localities, where there must be strong and solid civilian defense systems and defense fortifications. As we build the all-people national defense stance and people's security stance, we must pay special attention to strengthening the "people's will" stance, with the basic goal being promoting "the people's peace of mind," and rely on the people to build, consolidate, and develop the masses' armed forces, in conformity with the slogan, "people know; people discuss; people appoint; people feed," as a number of localities have done.

4. Effective establishment of a mechanism for the party to lead; administrations to supervise; and military and public security organs, committees, sectors, and mass organizations—first of all, military and public security organs—to serve as staffs on the basis of their functions, with organ commanders being in charge of a unified command over their subordinate forces. The years of building DA's in Military Region 5 and in the entire country have shown that the new leadership mechanism had very good effects on the leadership and supervision process that had to do with the national defense and security tasks in the DA's. However, this is an issue that needs further study and improvement within the process of building DA's in particular, and in the renovation of the political system and building of the rule-of-law state under the leadership of the party in the national defense-security field in general.

II. To continue to build totally strong bases is a strategically significant issue in the task of building DA's, protecting the localities, and defending the fatherland in the new situation.

As we know, our basic installations play a very important role in the building and defense of the fatherland in general, and in the building of solid DA's in particular. Only if these installations are strong and solid can our provincial and district DA's be solid and capable of ensuring political stability, maintaining security in localities, and safeguarding the country's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Therefore, to continue to build totally strong and solid basic installations is an issue of strategic significance, which is not only the task to be fulfilled by the basic installations but also the responsibility to be shouldered by the party and people as a whole, and by all echelons and sectors from central to local levels.

In recent years, many localities have succeeded in building strong basic installations and have learned many lessons from a rich and multifaceted experience in this issue. I propose that all provinces and districts go through an early review of this issue in order to find optimal models through which they can disseminate their experience so that the military region as a whole and the entire country can study it and find an application of its own for it.

At the present time, in regard to building basic installations, the outstanding issue is the need for concentrating efforts on the socioeconomic development of the countryside and highlands, particularly the base areas; implementing the "abolishing famine, reducing poverty" policy; and creating favorable conditions for the basic installations to step up production and to develop the household-family economy. We must strive to build each village into a clean and safe unit, to build many "safe and peaceful hamlets, and harmonious families."

In order to build strong basic installations, in the time to come we must concentrate our efforts on the following eight major activities:

1. To continue to consolidate and build a very solid socialist ideological battleground in accordance with the party's view on renovation.
2. To firmly ensure internal security in each basic installation and among the installations in a locality.
3. To concentrate efforts on effectively resolving the socioeconomic and security-national defense issues now being raised. To care about improving the standard of living and implementing the national solidarity, religious solidarity, and rear-area and army policies, as well as the policy on protecting the working people's legitimate interests.
4. To build on-the-spot actual strength to facilitate coping with the "peace developments," overthrowing

by force and riots, and other situations created by the enemy in our basic installations, and to contribute to long-term defense of the localities.

5. On the basis of the practical situation in the basic installations, to supplement and improve on a regular basis the plans for maintaining order and security, and social security; to organize periodic and irregular exercises aimed at actively preventing unexpected situations and being ready to cope in time with such situations.

6. When events take place, we must remain calm to accurately evaluate the situation, rely on the people, organize the masses and hard-core forces, take political measures as the principal action, develop the combined strength of the people as a whole and of the entire political system, isolate to a maximum degree the reactionaries, resolve neatly and quickly any event and incident, achieve collective leadership by party committee echelons and the rule based on the law by the administration, and make sure that the militia-self-defense and public security forces act correctly in accordance with their functions.

7. To properly implement Resolution 8b of the CPV Central Committee and Directive 58 of the Government on basic-level work. When cadres at all levels go to the basic installations to work, they must adopt simple ways of living and activities, stay close to the people, and create the latter's confidence in the party committee echelons and basic-level administration.

8. To ceaselessly build and consolidate the party organizations, administrations, and mass organizations to make them truly clean, strong, and capable of shouldering the tasks in the new stage.

Hanoi's Joint MIA Archives Described

942E0005A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 21 Sep 93 p 2

[Article by Bui Dinh Nguyen: "The MIA Archives in Hanoi"]

[Text] At present, in the Army Museum next to the Hanoi Flagpole, in addition to the rooms exhibiting the traditional history of the people's armed forces there is a room of archives concerning Americans missing in action during the Vietnam War (Joint Archives on U.S. Personnel Missing in the Vietnam War), called in short the MIA Archives. The room was set up at the recommendation of the Americans, with the agreement of Vietnam. For our part, there was close cooperation between the Army Museum and Vietnam's MIA organs, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Interior, and the Ministry of National Defense.

During a visit to Vietnam at the end of May 1993, after working with our state, a delegation of Congressmen and veterans headed by Sen. John Kerry, chairman of

a select committee of the U.S. Senate, attended a ceremony to open the "MIA Archives." During the inaugural ceremony, Senator John Kerry stated, "I am surprised, even astonished, over the completion of this archives room in such a brief period of time. I recommended that it be set up when I visited Vietnam on 15 May 1993, and it has already been completed. That is truly a fast pace...I am grateful to the Vietnamese for expressing its goodwill by means of this concrete deed."

Senator John McCain said, "This is an archives room that concentrates on very valuable materials regarding the MIA's. There is a great amount of information in this room, which proves that Vietnam's goodwill regarding the MIA issue is undeniable."

A MIA Archives of about 100 square meters in area was designed and equipped, and its displays include all kinds of materials. The MIA Archives is truly a "warehouse" for conserving materials. It is a lively picture, concentrated in one place, of everything that in past years the Vietnamese side, with its traditional humanitarianism, found when cooperating with the American side in seeking Americans missing during the Vietnam War.

In a large glass case there is a document of the Political General Department of the Vietnam People's Army, dated 4 October 1992 and bearing number 91/BT, which assigned to the Army Museum responsibility for participating directly in seeking materials concerning MIA's. It included the statement, "More than anyone we sympathize with those who crave information or answers about the fate of relatives who did not return after the war. As far as our own country is concerned, there are still tens of thousands of such people. However, with a humanitarian spirit we are prepared to share with Americans whose relatives fought for years but who have received no reliable word about them. Therefore, during the past several years, after turning over to the American side all POW's captured during the war, our party and state has organized groups to find the remains of Americans missing in Vietnam. The Political General Department authorizes the Army Museum to participate directly, along with the American side, in studying and researching information, documents, and material objects relevant to missing Americans."

On a large map of Vietnam there were marked in bright red symbols 88 locations of the national joint investigation cases between 1990 and May 1993, in accordance with requests by Americans who believed that there were still U.S. military personnel there. But the actual results affirmed that there were no surviving Americans in the places in which they suddenly demanded to go to investigate.

Colonel Tran Bien, representing the Ministry of National Defense in the MIA committee in Vietnam, said that at 1200 on a recent day the U.S. MIA team

asked us to allow them to go to Coc hamlet in Thanh Hoa to look for U.S. POW's who, according to information they had received, were still alive. We immediately agreed to their request. When they arrived at Coc hamlet they spread out to investigate. Several hours later, they concluded, "That information was entirely false."

On another map there were clearly marked the specific locations of many locations in Vietnam where American POW's were held during the war years when the U.S. Air Force attacked the north, such as Hanoi, Ha Tay, Hoa Binh, Nghe An, and Cao Bang. A statistical chart listed the museums (including the Army Museum; the museums of military regions 1, 3, 5, and 7, and the Capital Military Region; and the air force, air defense, and border defense museums), which collected and turned over 18,207 bits of MIA information related to 1,414 U.S. soldiers. That was an effort of great significance by the museums of the Vietnamese armed forces. Another chart clearly showed that between phases 1 and 23 (1988 to May 1993) 63 American investigating teams and 26 exhuming teams, with the assistance of Vietnam, directly carried out investigations in places they had heard U.S. airplanes had been shot down in the past.

There were also statistical data showing the total of remains of U.S. military personnel Vietnam turned over to the U.S. between 1974 and July 1993—a total of 547 sets of remains, accompanied by 59 items of information and relics. The years in which Vietnam found and turned over more remains than in previous years were 1988 (133 remains), 1989 (92 remains), 1992 (44 remains), and the first five months of 1993 (30 remains). At present, Vietnam and the U.S. are in the 25th phase of the search (from August 1993 to October 1993). This is the largest search in the central coastal area, from Quang Binh to Khanh Hoa and Ba Ria-Vung Tau Province. In addition to the Vietnamese, 90 U.S. personnel went to Da Nang on 19 August 1993 to carry out a search there.

All that proves that during nearly 20 consecutive years Vietnam has made great efforts to locate remains of U.S. soldiers and turn them over to the U.S.

In addition to turning over remains, Vietnam has turned over to the U.S. 24 different kinds of documents relevant to MIA's. Notable among them are lists of U.S. airplanes shot down in Hai Hung, Hoa Binh, Ha Tay, Ha Nam Ninh, and Thanh Hoa; a list of 23 U.S. airplanes shot down in Quang Ninh District and Quang Binh Province; a list of U.S. prisoners of war captured in North Vietnam between 5 August 1964 and 28 December 1972; a list of U.S. POW's who died in the central part of Central Vietnam; statistics concerning graves of U.S. pilots in Quang Binh and Nghe An; and a volume of information about U.S. graves in the central provinces. Furthermore, there were air-defense combat logs of the military command of Ha

Bac Province; statistics about battles of the Vietnamese Air Force between 1965 and 1972; air-defense combat logs of Military Region 4; and statistics of the 350th Division concerning U.S. aircraft shot down. The Americans have received all of those files.

In the MIA Archives there are also file cabinets containing files on joint investigations of information concerning live Americans, documents about MIA information turned over to the Americans, 27 reels of film about the turning over of U.S. pilots at Gia Lam airfield, three reels of film about turning over remains to the Americans, and six reels of film about "Christmas guests of the Hanoi Hilton." There is a total of 20 crates of objects related to MIA's, such as pilots' helmets, flight suits, parachutes, seats, and weapons of all kinds.

Finally, there are recently discovered documents, including the medical history of an American serviceman, Robert Larry Veskamp, who entered an army hospital on 25 April 1967 because he was wounded when a U.S. airplane was shot down; a report of an anti-aircraft battle of the militia of Ngoc Vung village in Cam Pha district (Quang Ninh) on 24 December 1972; a map of an anti-aircraft battle on 23 July 1972 of the militia of Thuy Anh district (Thai Binh); and many other kinds of documents relevant to MIA's.

ECONOMIC

Paper Comments on Workers Rights Protection

942E0006A Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 20 Sep 93 p 1

[Article by Minh Le: "Protect the Rights of Workers in All Economic Components"]

[Text] The production of goods by many components, based on the marked mechanism, added to the joint ventures and foreign investment alliances, has caused the city's labor force to develop rapidly, both quantitatively and qualitatively. If in the past the labor force was concentrated primarily in the state economic sector, now it has developed in all economic components, including the economic establishments of foreign countries. It is estimated that 16,000 workers are working in foreign-owned enterprises. Furthermore, at present there are 1,615 private companies and businesses in the city, operating in all sectors and trades, from production to commerce and services. One privately owned installation employs more than 10,000 workers.

Our regime is a regime of the people, by the people, and for the people. Therefore, wherever there are workers there must be workers' organizations so that the workers can exercise their mastership rights. In the state and collective sectors, workers' organizations have been formed and their activities are regular and stable. Although their quality is not yet as desired, the trade union organizations there have fulfilled their responsibility of protecting the legitimate rights of the workers. A

pressing problem that is being posed at present is how to protect the rights of workers in the private and foreign installations. There have been many complaints from workers. Strikes and slowdowns have occurred in the above-mentioned installations. Our acceptance of the long-range business activity of the private economic component and the foreign investors also means acceptance of the owner-worker relationship and of exploitation, in order to attain higher goals: developing all potentialities and developing the nation's economy. However, that exploitation can be limited by a system of laws and state control mechanisms, and struggle by workers via their organizations. Therefore, creating trade union organizations in the private economic sector and in the establishments in which foreigners invest is a hot issue. Although it is not easy to do so, Labor Federations are urgently being formed at all levels. Wherever there are sufficient conditions for doing so, trade union organizations are formed; where there are insufficient conditions, workers' representative committees are set up. Some places have set up local trade union organizations and workers' representative committees. But in general, the situation is developing in a rather complicated way in both directions: owners and workers.

Due to the heavy pressure of unemployment, a considerable number of workers have an attitude of "it doesn't matter," of everything being OK as long as they have jobs. Even a small salary is better than none, so they do not dare struggle and are not yet ready to join their organization. Furthermore, the owners seek any way to delay, bribe, persuade, and separate the representatives from the labor force. One foreign investor said frankly, "The foreign investment law does not mention trade union organizations." A foreign investor paid the workers' representative a salary equal to that of the deputy joint enterprise director in order to bring him over to his side.

In order to form trade union organizations in the private economy and foreign investment sectors, it is necessary to resolve a whole series of problems, from raising the political consciousness and mastership awareness of the workers and completing the legal system (the Foreign Investment Law, the Labor Law, the Trade Union Law, the Domestic Investment Law, etc.) to arousing the humanitarian virtue of the owners (both Vietnamese and foreigners). The broad formation of trade union with a new quality is an important measure for protecting the rights of workers.

Prime Minister's Decisions on New Pay Policy

942E0009 Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GIAI PHONG
in Vietnamese 8 Nov 93 p 3

[Article: "Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet's Conclusions on Ways To Resolve Some Urgent Problems Having To Do With Implementing the New Pay Policy"]

[Text] After a period devoted to drafting governmental decrees and ministerial supplementary documents to deal

with the new pay system and a number of related pension and social allowances policies (Decrees Nos. 25-CP, 26-CP, and 27-CP, dated 23 May 1993; circulars of the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare, Ministry of Finance, and Government Cadre Organization Commission; Notice No. 4306-KTTH of the Office of the Government, dated 28 August 1993, on reapplying the system of monthly allowances granted to teachers and the system of paying fares for cadres, workers, and soldiers serving in the highlands and islands for their annual visits to relatives; and Decree No. 236-HDBT and Decision No. 111-HDBT of the Council of Ministers on extending the time in which the retirement system is applied and on assigning the ministries concerned to handle some issues having to do with changing and adjusting salaries), on 21 October 1993 Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet and Deputy Prime Minister Phan Van Khai met with Le Xuan Trinh, minister and director of the Office of the Government; Tran Dinh Hoan, minister of labor, war invalids, and social welfare; Phan Ngoc Tuong, minister and chairman of the Government Cadre Organization Commission; Nguyen Van Tu, president, Vietnam General Federation of Labor Unions; Le Huy Ngo, vice chairman, Central Organization Commission; Nguyen Sinh Hung, Vice Minister of Finance; and To Tu Ha, vice chairman of the Government Cadre Organization Commission, to discuss the followup measures to be taken dealing with the remaining problems and issues having to do with implementing the new pay system. After having listened to Tran Dinh Hoan, the representative of the ministries who mentioned the recommended followup measures and other participants, Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet asserted that the systems of pay, pension, and social allowances were especially important, very sensitive, and extremely complicated. Although the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare and other ministries recently tried hard to implement the new pay system, they have failed to grasp all of the aspects and extent of its complexity; therefore, their efforts to plan and to provide guidance for its implementation did not fully reflect the policy and need of the pay reform this time, nor did they resolve all of the problems that history has left behind. Consequently, as we prepare for implementing the new pay system, we must truly listen to the opinions of cadres, workers, civil servants, soldiers, and retirees, and resort to analyses and choices in order to make timely adjustment, revision, and continued improvement.

Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet has instructed the ministries and sectors that they should concentrate efforts on resolving some urgent issues along the following line:

I. The Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare; the Ministry of Finance; and the Government Cadre Organization Commission must urgently draft and promulgate a decision to change and revise a number of procedures including the following:

1. Set seniority allowances to equal 5 percent of the salaries of those people who are reelected for another term.

2. Set level of service allowances for officials who now enjoy the server status but who actually serve themselves.

3. Set coefficient of allowances granted to key leadership positions of mass associations where salaries are paid by the state; this coefficient cannot exceed 1.1 for central associations and .7 for local ones.

4. Set position of leaders of market management committees in the provinces and municipalities directly subordinate to the central government equal to that of chiefs of service.

5. In the case of some local committees being headed by chairmen or vice chairmen but actually being regularly administered by vice chairmen, who are primarily responsible for them, these vice chairmen are now granted position allowances equal to the chairman level.

6. Public health cadres and workers of mobile teams and in facilities in the highlands, remote areas, and islands continue to get allowances of 20,000 dong/month during the first phase of implementation of the new pay system.

7. Graduates of training schools assigned to work in the highlands, remote areas, and islands are granted 100 percent of salaries even during their probational period.

8. Set three levels of special allowances applicable to members of the armed forces, workers, and civil servants working in remote islands and in certain border areas where the living conditions are especially difficult. Noncommissioned officers and soldiers in the army and people's public security forces are granted locality allowances computed on the basis of their rank allowances.

9. People who have retired in 1993 in compliance with Decree No. 236/HDBT, dated 16 September 1985, of the Council of Ministers (now government) and have not received new salary transfer and adjustment are granted an additional 20 percent of their rank or position salaries and other price-increase and price-compensation allowances in accordance with the general state regulations. 10. Wounded soldiers and sick soldiers who are getting injury allowances and sickness allowances, respectively, and who are not workers, civil servants, or retirees, are granted tuition and rent allowances in accordance with Decisions Nos. 117/TTg and 118/TTg, dated 27 November 1992, of the prime minister; these allowances are added to the allowances that they got in March 1993 in order to adjust the level of allowances on the basis of the new salaries from 1 April 1993 on.

II. The Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Finance, and the Government

Cadre Organization Commission are assigned to provide guidance for carrying out the following practical work:

1. In dealing with special cases of transferring and adjusting pay status and salary level by recommendations of the ministries, sectors, and localities and on the basis of actual conditions, we must ensure the granting of the appropriate pay status and salary level to those people who deserve being in leadership and specialized positions in certain organs.

2. Provide guidance for adopting general rules by the district-level organs which do not employ high-ranking experts. In considering specific cases in a number of localities which recognize the former subjects or resolve their problems as they transfer cadres for the purpose of strengthening the localities, we can allow them to keep the old salaries for the purpose of effecting the transfer and adjustment. However, we must remind the localities that they cannot recommend promotions and raise ranks for cadres according to their own convenience.

3. In coordination with such sectors as education, public health, culture, communications and transportation, geology, meteorology, and hydrography, to urgently study a system of special allowances for such sectors and to submit it to the prime minister.

4. Provide supplementary guidance regarding subjects in whose favor the area allowances are applied, such as wounded and sick soldiers who are getting monthly allowances.

5. In coordination with the ministries and production and business sectors, review and evaluate businesses in order to adjust the average income of their directors and bonuses for workers and civil servants, or to propose that the state support these businesses under special conditions.

6. Assign the Government Cadre Organization Commission the task of coordinating with the ministries concerned in studying and guiding the implementation of Decree 46/CP on a system of cost of living allowances to be granted party and administration cadres and operational expenses to be granted mass organizations in villages, wards, and towns, and in concurrently conducting an investigation of the real situation of villages and wards. Draft procedures of operation for villages and wards, and study systems applicable to hamlet and village cadres.

7. In coordination with the Ministry of Construction, provide the ministries, sectors, and localities with guidance regarding paying rent of state-owned houses at the maximum rent level as included in phase-one salaries.

8. Provide guidance regarding granting hardship allowances to people who really suffer from hardships and resolving such cases by paying fares in favor of those

people who have permission to visit with their sick wives or husbands, fathers, mothers, or children.

9. Act urgently in order to submit pay level raises in 1993. 10. Prepare conditions for implementing phase two of the new pay system in December 1993. In phase two, allow the application of seniority allowances based on periods of the war of resistance, change the coefficient for determination and favored status in accordance with Decree 236-HDBT, create favorable conditions for going one step further in applying the favored status system to those cadres who took part in the war of resistance prior to the state's promulgation of this revised favored-status system, and to implement the new social security policy in accordance with Government Decree No. 43/CP, dated 22 June 1993. 11. Assign the Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare the task of leading the ministries concerned toward urgently submitting a system applicable to cadres and military personnel who served in battlefields B, C, and K without leaving portions of their salaries to their families.

The government has attentively listened to opinions expressed by the ministries, sectors, and localities and has accepted adjustments because it considers developing and implementing the new pay system an important matter. The Ministry of Labor, War Invalids, and Social Welfare, the Government Cadre Organization Commission, and the Ministry of Finance must follow, resolve, and fully answer all doubtful opinions; organize news conferences and dialogues with any localities that raise questions in order to reach consensus in regard to developing and implementing the pay system; and truly solicit ideas and select them in order to accept adjustments on a timely basis. On the other hand, they need to mobilize the spirit of solidarity and share sacrifices and hardships among cadres, workers, and soldiers so as to jointly achieve further development in the renovation of the country.

Confederation of Labor President Interviewed

942E0010 Hanoi LAO DONG in Vietnamese
28 Oct 93 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Nguyen Van Tu, president, Vietnam General Confederation of Labor, by LAO DONG Reporter Ung Duy Ninh; place and date not given: "LAO DONG Interview With Nguyen Van Tu: Vietnam Confederation of Labor Pursues Multilateral, Multifaceted Relations but Does Not Forget Its Friends"]

[Text] As LAO DONG had reported, from 10 to 15 October 1993, in Warsaw a session of the Presidium and General Assembly of the World Federation of Labor Unions (FSM) was held to prepare for FSM's 13th Congress. After he had returned to Hanoi from the conference, Nguyen Van Tu, president of Vietnam General Confederation of Labor (VGCL) and vice president of FSM, granted our reporter an interview.

[Ninh] Please let us know the mark that was left by the session of the FSM Presidium and General Assembly this time.

[Tu] This was a regular meeting to prepare for the 13th Congress of FSM. However, the session discussed and achieved a high degree of unanimity about the immediate and long-term goals, particularly the existence and development, of FSM, the largest organization of workers in the world. The conference reviewed and evaluated the results of the work done in the last two years and discussed the measures to be taken to step up the class struggle, which is being extremely active in the capitalist countries and the third-world countries of Central America, Africa, and so on, where there are labor disputes.

In many countries, because labor union cadres are struggling for the interests of workers, many of them are being terrorized and jailed. The conference also discussed the measures to be taken to consolidate the central organization of FSM in the regions of Latin America, based in Cuba, the Middle and Near East based in Syria, and Asia-Pacific based in India. The headquarters of FSM will be indefinitely kept in Prague. The Presidium and General Assembly also determined the financial obligation of each member country to ensure the financial means for the organization to operate.

[Ninh] As we know, after the 12th Congress in Moscow in 1990, the number of FSM members decreased. What measures did the Presidium and General Assembly take to consolidate the organization?

[Tu] Prior to the 12th Congress, the Eastern European countries had changed their political systems. Then when the Soviet Union was dismantled, the labor unions there had to be reorganized, changed their direction as well as their operating method, and asked to be severed from FSM. However, they still maintained regular relations with FSM in a number of fields, such as training of cadres, economic relations, and so on, as unofficial member nations. The number of the remaining FSM members was 90 million people. A number of occupational labor unions in former Czechoslovakia had recently asked for admission and were admitted by this session of the General Assembly.

That was a very great victory of the organization. I think that, with correct goals and guidelines aimed at putting together labor unions of various occupations, FSM will continue to grow.

[Ninh] Did FSM have any observation as to the role of Vietnamese labor unions in our country's renovation?

[Tu] During the time I attended the conference, I had opportunities to get in touch with many individuals and delegations of Pakistan, the Philippines, India, France, and so on. I can say that almost all delegates were happy about our country's victories: economic

development and stable political system. Many delegates observed that by following the correct line of the CPV, VGCL symbolized a course of action that was correct, dynamic, and effective. VGCL has integrated itself into the community of other countries but does not forget its friends.

[Ninh] What direction will the forthcoming 7th VGCL Congress take to carry out the FSM resolution and to continue integrating itself into the world worker and labor union movement?

[Tu] At the conference I informed the delegates that the 7th VGCL Congress will be held in Hanoi in early November 1993. That was also a fact that drew the attention of everybody. Until now Vietnamese labor unions have been some of FSM's strong and stable organizations. We will continue to maintain solidarity with and support the workers and labor unions of the countries that are struggling to gain national independence and to claim democratic freedoms and labor union rights. VGCL will contribute many more realistic ideas on public relations issues and the common FSM activities in general, and on the Asian-Pacific region in particular.

In the time to come the labor unions of Poland and Indonesia will visit Vietnam to exchange experiences in labor union activities, particularly ideas about economic activities. I have invited the FSM Presidium to organize its regular beginning-of-1994 meeting in Hanoi.

[Ninh] Thank you.

SOCIAL

Socialism Interpreted As Necessary Development of History

942E0011 Ho Chi Minh City SAIGON GLI PHONG
in Vietnamese 15, 16 Oct 93 p 2, p 3

[Article by Pham Van Dang: "Socialism is a Necessary Development of History"]

[Text] Socialism is the road to development of mankind and the accurate law of man's history. But this historical road is not an easy one, rather a process of searching and testing, with fierce challenges involving blood and mind in the class struggle of each people and nation. Consequently, the nonhistorical illusions have paid their price in modern history; both dogmatism and rightist opportunism have been punished by strict laws. Both tendencies go against the Marxist-Leninist dialectical materialism.

History attaches a great value to perception. History has its own laws. In the future capitalism will certainly be replaced by scientific socialism. Capitalism will meet its fate just as feudalism did in the 18th century. Prior to the 18th century, the ancient forces of feudalism had been madly attacking the young force that

was capitalism; likewise, capitalism today would not leave free socialism alone to develop. The history of class struggle has been that way. History as a science plays a very important role in the renovating process and helps us to correctly perceive the past and to see clearly the future direction for development. Today, the high development of science-technology makes the dialectical thinking about history prevail even more on the road to socialism in conformity with our era. The crises of socialism in the past decades were those of a young social force that was being developed and moving toward the future; in the same manner, the collapse of the inappropriate socialist models in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union was a phenomenon and not a law of history. The collapse of the wrong models of socialism did not mean the collapse of scientific socialism as a doctrine about social development, nor did it mean, of course, the collapse of Marxism in general, either. It could have meant the collapse of the dogmatization, cutting short, and distortion that had stiffened to death scientific socialism. What certainly have been lost were the superficial, erroneous, nonhistorical, and nondialectical perceptions of Marxism-Leninism, the true values of which will forever remain in mankind's creative journey.

History always moves in accordance with laws. The development of society primarily is a unified current. It is unified because of the continued process of development of the productive force and the indispensable continuity of the development of production relationships, of science, of technology and culture, and of man himself and various forms of his activities. History has taken place in that manner; nobody can make history to his liking. Those serious and responsible people always respect the objectivity of history, from the past of which they know, how to draw the experience that would be needed for the present. In addition, we must also know that historical development is a process that challenges the mind and that this is the most bitter and harshest challenge but at the same time one that promises a bright future. At present, socialism is renovating itself in order to continue to exist and to move forward. It has not been lost; it has moved itself beyond the crisis in order to develop in accordance with mankind's development laws. Therefore, let us pay no attention to the speculations full of prejudices and hatred of those who oppose the revolution; we have reason to be optimistic about the future, an optimism that is not based on thoughtlessness but rather on perception of the development laws. Furthermore, we affirm the future not only with sentiment and subjective determination but rather on the basis of analyzing the situation in a dialectical and objective manner, asserting the truth, sustaining the truth, struggling to attain the truth, and being confident that the truth will be attained.

The Marxist world view and methodology always will be the guide for us to perceive and reform the world. However, in the treasure and heritage of the Marxist doctrine there are arguments that were outlined in the

end of the 19th century and unavoidably have been overtaken by history—this is something we are not surprised to learn. Max and Engels themselves always reminded their followers that they absolutely should avoid cutting the relationships between theory and practice. The reason for the great vitality of Marxism-Leninism was its creativity and ceaseless development; on the basis of reality, it was supplemented by new conclusions, with some points being correct under past conditions but no longer being appropriate for the new reality. Our principal mistake was to separate Marxist-Leninist arguments from reality, to cut off their relationships with the changes of the era or the actual conditions of the revolution in each country; as a result, we transformed the Marxist doctrine from being the guide for action into being dogmatic. The general secretary of the South African Communist Party correctly put it this way: "The serious transformations of socialism that had arisen from reality were not considered the results of the basic arguments of the Marxist science. If we wanted to find the culprit, we should look at ourselves instead of accusing the founders of Marxism" (ASIA-AFRICA TODAY, June 1990). Consequently, to judge history at one's convenience is a sign of subjectivism among those who have lost their necessary calm toward history. We may say that without the historical dialectical view there could be no serious creativity in the theoretical field.

The communists who inherit and develop Marxism-Leninism must ceaselessly renovate themselves; with courage, they must struggle tirelessly, resist dogmatism and pessimism, and avoid subjective voluntarism. They must see that the struggle for socialism is a hard, complicated, and long one, and that they must avoid groping in the dark, making mistakes, and failing. To defend Marxism-Leninism is first of all to defend its basic principles, to affirm the truth and practical leadership value of such principles, and to fight against the distortions of opportunism. But one should not stop here. Today, if we want to defend Marxism-Leninism in an effective manner, we must develop it instead of simply reaffirming the things that the classics of Marxism-Leninism suggest. We can score victory on the theoretical and ideological front only by further improving our theoretical weapon. Today, opportunism rejects the whole of Marxism-Leninism; as a result of this, the subjects and scope of judgment numerically increase and the area of theoretical struggle has expanded in both width and depth. Between the judgment of Marxists-Leninists and that of opportunists regarding Marxism-Leninism there is a basic difference. On one side, the judgment is aimed at defending and developing Marxism-Leninism; on the other, the judgment is aimed at destroying it. If we do not clearly affirm the purpose of the judgment and where we stand to make this judgment, we will run the risk of being astray and getting into ideological chaos. Any careless mistake and any liberalistic and individualistic attitude can make searchers lose their way. On the ideological front there can be no neutral position.

With today's complicated background, there are people who want to follow the capitalist road and believe that socialism "has become outdated" and "has collapsed." There are other people who think that we should not use the word "socialist" in the country's name, nor "communist" in the party's name. Still other people condemn the August Revolution and the two wars of resistance, which they say "were caused by the CPV." Still others think that the U.S. government maintains the trade embargo against Vietnam because Vietnam still keeps the socialist road and the CPV. That is a wrong way of thinking.

In our country's movement toward socialism, when the market-oriented economy is developed, particularly from its small-scale agriculture, we cannot overlook the appearance of the capitalist factor. However, the capitalist factor having the nature of a social system and the capitalist factor being a means to build socialism are two things that are basically different. Therefore, if there are no effects of the preset socialist direction, the transition will easily become nonsocialist things and easily lead to the capitalist road. By creatively applying Marxism, Lenin himself improved and further developed the Marxist doctrine. He advocated a long transitional period for Russia, in which the basic laws should be thoroughly understood in order to resolve the sharp contradictions in society and especially the production relationships should be adjusted to satisfy the need for development of the productive forces and to make the superstructure suitable for and accelerate the development of the economic base. Consequently, Lenin said, "In the spring of 1921, we saw clearly that we had failed in our intention to use the 'launching assaults' method, i.e., to use the shortest and most direct path, to achieve production and distribution according to the socialist principles. In the spring of 1921, the political situation showed us that in a number of economic issues, we should withdraw to positions of state capitalism and move from 'launching assaults' to 'besieging.'"

The spirit of Marxism as a whole requires that we consider each one of its principles in accordance with the historical view and link it with other principles and with the historical experience. But today there are also people who try to cling to a number of Marxist conclusions made when the historical conditions had changed in order to claim that the Marxist doctrine has become outdated. They deliberately forget the fact that the Marxist method is a tool of perception used to find answers to the issues that have been raised in life instead of an already-available panacea. They intentionally forget that! They do everything possible to distort and deny the achievements of the revolution and aggrandize the wrong aspects, mistakes, and shortcomings of socialism while distorting history; the opportunists do their best to inflate the adjustments in the management, distribution, and social policy of modern capitalism in order to prove that the so-called capitalism of today has changed its nature. In addition,

they compare in a superficial manner capitalism and socialism by relying only on the materialistic living standard instead of the actual historical background. They do not distinguish the target to be attained from the steps leading to this target. We understand very clearly that material wealth is very important but it is not everything and absolutely not the only objective and that on the road we take to seek material riches, we must at the same time find and enrich the noble spiritual values for our nation and country.

Furthermore, we must also realize that the preset socialist direction is not found in the common objectives and common line, nor does it consist only of a long-range direction but also of a short-range one; it must be deeply absorbed in the work of every organization and every individual. Thus the preset socialist direction is indivisible and unified in terms of its principles; on the road we take to move forward, every aspect of our activities must converge in accordance with this preset socialist direction. And in the period of transition toward socialism, we should not demand that time be set in advance for the steps we take, but rather "leave it to life to provide the answers." If we do not respect laws, we cannot move toward socialism; the more wrongly we observe laws, the longer we will have to travel on the road to socialism. In the course of following this direction, we must relentlessly pursue the theoretical and ideological struggle along with the practical struggle in the economic, political, cultural, and social fields so as to judge wrong ideas, to deal with wrong acts and dissent, and to protect the preset direction that we have chosen and are now taking.

The renovation that our party is leading has the scope of profound socialist revolutionary changes. The road to renovation is that of moving from the bureaucratic state to the democratic one, from stagnancy to dynamic action, from restraint to development. But in reality we must admit that the party's political vanguard role has shown that it has fallen short in such aspects as the theoretical aspect, knowledge of science and management, and method of leadership. The capabilities and qualities of party members still show a gap in regard to the needs of the situation. The renovation of the party itself actually is a revolution in regard to ideology, organization, and people. A social system cannot change itself unless there are activities of people, not only the people in the state and party

machineries but also the people in the political system as a whole, in the masses as a whole. Consequently, we cannot basically reform the economy if we do not have the correlative reforms in the political system of society, in the form and mode of operation of this system. Therefore, we must absolutely change the model of "state socialism" and "administrative bureaucratic state" and abolish the situation in which the party becomes the state, and vice versa, and people gradually "become corrupt." The resolutions of the third, fourth, and fifth plenums of the CPV Central Committee (7th term) have advocated the renovation of these aspects.

Life has proved that if the scientific attitude toward our work is replaced by a subjective attitude, it will certainly lead to mistakes and it will be difficult to avoid a failure. Life does not stand still. Society does not cease to develop. New problems that appear require that we concentrate our efforts on studying them and resolving them in a timely manner. We are determined not to be satisfied with the achievements we have obtained; we must look at life within the framework of all of its complexities. Let us not avoid the truth, for as Lenin put it, the truth is always stubborn and defies fear and the hopeless pull of the people who do not travel with it.

On the basis of creatively applying Marxism-Leninism and the Ho Chi Minh ideology, our party has outlined the road to revolutionary renovation in Vietnam; since the Sixth and Seventh Party Congresses, it has been taking this road. Naturally we must continue to seek, test, and approve theoretical studies and regularly review experience in order to ceaselessly supplement and improve it. From a dream to reality there exists a road full of challenge that tests our perception and thinking, our qualities and morality. In order to successfully achieve renovation in conformity with the preset socialist direction, we must not only resolve the wrong and ambiguous tendencies among ourselves but also resist the mad attacks and acts of destruction that the enemy forces are carrying out by means of many tricks.

The revolutionary and scientific nature reflecting the brilliant good cause of Marxism-Leninism and the Ho Chi Minh ideology provides us with the ability to overcome challenges and to enter a new stage of development that holds many good prospects for our future.

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